

HISTORICAL and CRITICAL  
REMARKS  
ON THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
CHARLES XII.  
KING of SWEDEN,

BY

Mr. DE VOLTAIRE,

Design'd as a SUPPLEMENT to that WORK.

In a LETTER to the AUTHOR,

BY

Mr. DE LA MOTTAIE,

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*Translated from the French.*

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The SECOND EDITION.

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LONDON,

Printed for T. WARNER, at the *Black Boy* in *Pater-*  
*Noster-Row.* MDCCXXXII.  
(*Price One Shilling and Six Pence.*)

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S I R,  
**T**HOUGH our epistolary Correspondence ceased with your Queries and my Answers, concerning some Facts relating to the Life of *Charles XII*, the Friendship which we gave one another an Earnest of in 1728 at *Paris*, has not ceased on my Part, no more than my Admiration of all that comes from your Pen. I hope you'll take it as a fresh

Proof of that Friendship, that I make some Observations upon divers Passages of your History, where I see you have been misinformed. I am desired to do so by Persons of no small Consideration, who pay a just Regard to your Merit, and who judge by reading my two former Volumes, that, as I had for many Years the Honour of a free Access to your Hero, and of conversing daily with his Officers both in *Turkey* and *Sweden*, I ought to be better informed of several Circumstances relating to him than you. Nay there are some among them, who having themselves a perfect Knowledge not only of *Charles XII.* but of the Czar *Peter I.* and of the Czarina *Catharine*, find that what I have said of them is conformable to Truth, tho' it does not entirely agree with some Facts which you have related. I receive just as I am translating this from my *French*, now under the Press, a Letter from a Friend beyond Sea, to whom I had imparted my Design, to which he encourages me in the following Terms: "I see with Pleasure, Sir, that you are about informing the Publick of those Errors

" Errors into which the Author of the  
 " Life of *Charles XII.* has led too many.  
 " Comparing your Accounts with M. *De*  
 " *Voltaire's*, I plainly discover that he has  
 " copied you from *Pultowa* to *Frederick-*  
 " *shall*, but altered or changed several Cir-  
 " cumstances which are contradicted with  
 " us, as they are by you. My Friends and  
 " yours, some of whom were Eye-witnes-  
 " ses of several Facts, do you the Justice of  
 " confirming your Narrative. We expect  
 " you'll note those Circumstances, and re-  
 " store to History the Truth which belongs  
 " to her, and which M. *Voltaire* could not  
 " give for want of good Memoirs. The  
 " Publick will be obliged to you, and M.  
 " *Voltaire* himself, when he sees your fair  
 " and civil Manner of correcting him (a  
 " Manner no less natural to you than inhe-  
 " rent to your Character) will thank you  
 " for it; at least he ought to do so, if he  
 " has any regard to Truth. His flourished  
 " Style indeed is very agreeably amusing,  
 " I would call it a good one, if 'twas what  
 " History requires; but that demands  
 " Weight and Gravity, rather than Levity  
 " and Flowers, judicious Reflections, in-  
 " stead



“stead of Epigrams, Pictures well drawn,  
 “not single Sketches.

I am translating this, as I said, from the *French* my self. It is a Task I undertake, that I may preserve the Sense of my Original, which was altered in some Places in my two former Volumes, by the Translators whom I had trusted with my Manuscript. You have been served so more than once in the Translation of your *French* History into *English*.

It is generally allow'd, Sir, that your Book is extraordinarily well written; this would be enough for a Romance, 'tis said, where Invention is always predominant, but not for a History where Truth must reign absolute. They complain that you make *Charles* do and say several Things which he never was seen to do, nor heard to say; that you confound and change Times, Places, Persons, their Names, Characters, Offices, &c.

I presume to judge of you by my self. I have declared in the Preface to my third Volume, that I should be sincerely obliged to any who would be so kind as to set me right, when and wherever they happened to find me wrong; and that I would

not

not only thank them for their Kindness, but recant in my next Work. I hope you will so take and interpret my Observations on your History of *Charles XII.*

You make in the first Book (I don't note the Pages on account of the different Editions already publish'd) the Czar *Peter I.* take in 1597, *Asoph*, which was taken in 1695, and to set out in 1678, from *Moscow* on his Travels, which were not begun till 1697. As to these Anacronisms, I took them at first Sight for Errors of the Press, which are never to be laid to the Author's Charge, and which, provided they don't hide his Sense, any judicious and somewhat indulgent Reader wont much regard. But I am surprized to see the same Errors in your second Edition printed at *Paris*, which (if we may believe the Title) has been *revised and corrected by the Author.* You say in the same Book, that *M. Le Fort* was Son of a *French* Refugee at *Geneva*, and that he went to seek for Service among the *Moscovite* Troops; that he happened to be known in *Moscow* to the Czar whilst he was yet young. This does not agree with what I have heard both from *Moscovites* and Natives of *Geneva.*

Give me Leave therefore to repeat here some Circumstances, which I have on their unanimous Testimonies related in my third Volume.

Mr. *Le Fort* was a Man of an ancient reputable Family at *Geneva*, consisting of Magistrates and Traders. After he had with great Success gone through his Studies at College, his Father, an eminent Merchant of that City, would have him chuse a Course of Life between these two. The young Man had an Inclination for neither, but a strong one for War. There was no military Exercise but he was present at it; he read all the Books of Battels and Fortifications he could possibly come at. But seeing himself much pressed by his Father to make such a Choice, he determined for Trade, and was sent to M. *Franconis* one of the most famous and richest Traders in *Amsterdam*. He soon acquired a perfect Knowledge of Commerce, and got thereby very deep in his Master's Favour. M. *Franconis* happening to load a Ship for *Copenhagen*, and *Le Fort* being very desirous to see other Countries besides *Holland*, begged of him that he



he would be pleased to send him thither with his Ship, offering his best Care for the Disposal of the Goods in her. *Francis* readily granted him his Request, intrusting him with the whole *Cargo*; he performed the Commission to an Advantage, which even exceeded his Master's Expectation. Though the Profession of Merchant is not much consider'd in *Denmark*, no more than in any other military Countries, his polite Behaviour, with his personal Merit, render'd him acceptable to the Officers, and his Passion for War awak'd anew at the Sight of the *Danish* Troops. He entered into a Kind of Apprenticeship with some of those Officers, and put himself among their Soldiers when they were exercised: He learn'd more of the Matter in a Day than some of the new ones could do in a Month, and soon became capable of exercising them himself. Hearing one Day in Company that an Ambassador was named by the King for the Court of *Moscow*, and that he wanted some well made Pages, (he was so) he expressed an extraordinary Desire to go thither along with him in whatsoever Quality his Excellency would  
take

take him, except that of a Footman. One of the Company, who had a great Value for *Le Fort*, offered to recommend him to the Embassador, whom, he said, he knew particularly: *Le Fort* begged he would; 'twas done accordingly; and upon the Picture the same Person gave of him to the Embassador, he desired to see him, and found it much short of the Original; and hearing of his Inclination for War, promised he would encourage it, and take Care of his Promotion at his Return. *Le Fort* thank'd his future Master, and as that Minister was not to set out 'till about two Months after, *Le Fort* had Time to prepare for the Journey. He wrote to his Father and to Mr. *Franconis* for their Consent, representing to them in the strongest Terms the Usefulness of such a Journey for his Calling, and offering to the latter his Service in the Way of Trade. In short, he obtain'd his Desires, and Credit for as much Money as he should want. The Time of their Departure being come, *Le Fort* embark'd with his new Master in a Man of War who landed them at *Libaw*, a Town of *Curland*, which I mention'd in my third Volume;

Volume; they went hence to *Mitaw* the Duke's Residence, which I have also mention'd, where the Embassador having some Commission to execute at that Court, made a Stay for some Months. *Le Fort*, who had a Facility for learning Languages, and indeed any Thing he had a Mind to, apply'd himself during his Stay to learn that of the Countrey, which is a *Sclavonian* Dialect common to *Livonians*, *Poles*, and *Moscovites*, so that they all understand one another. He learn'd enough of it to serve as Interpreter to the Embassador and his Retinue throughout the whole Journey, even to *Moscow*, where he became a complete Master of it. As that Minister was a Person of the greatest Merit, he soon got the Esteem of the *Czar Peter*, so that his Majesty was never better pleased than in his Company; treated him at his own Table, and went often to eat at his; asked him Questions about the Court and military State of *Denmark*, and about every Thing that occurred to him. The *Czar* taking Notice of *Le Fort's* fine Shape and promising Look, especially the Manner and Turn, which, as Interpreter, he gave to his Master's



ster's Answers, asked him whether he would accept of an Employment near his Person. To this *Le Fort* answer'd most respectfully, "That whatsoever Ambition he might have to serve so great a Monarch as his Majesty, he depended upon a Lord who gave him daily new Marks of his Benevolence, and without whose Consent his Duty and Gratitude would not allow him to promise or do any Thing." Well (said the Czar) *I will ask the Consent of your Master.* But, reply'd *Le Fort*, I humbly entreat your Majesty to make use of any other Interpreter to him than my self. *I will use then* (said the Czar) *one of my Interpreters for that Purpose.* The Czar talk'd of other Things, and a few Days after having mention'd this Proposal, the Ambassador said, "That the Exchange was indeed too favourable and too advantageous to the young Man, and that he wished him too well not to consent to it." The Czar made him at first his *Valet de Chambre* and Interpreter, learn'd of him a great deal of *Low Dutch*, which he was become Master of both in *Holland* and *Denmark*, as also of *Danish*. *Le Fort* became

came soon a Favourite, then Captain of his Life Guards, whom he advised the Czar to have cloathed and disciplined after the *Danish* Manner. He exercised them himself; and the Czar learn'd this new Discipline under him. Thus you see, Sir, that *Le Fort* was neither the Son of a Refugee, nor went to seek Service among the *Moscovite* Troops.

What you are pleased to call a vulgar Report, and absolutely false, of some Excesses of Wine, by which *Charles* was led to commit Actions unworthy a Prince (I may add of any reasonable or tolerably well educated Person) is too true, and attested by Persons of Honour and unquestionable Sincerity, some of 'em still living who have been Eyewitnesses of it. 'Tis also very true, that this Prince was struck with such Horror when become sensible of his Folly, that he made a Vow (which he inviolably observed) never to drink Wine nor any other strong Liquor. I have heard some of his Officers say thereupon, that he was entirely in the right to do so, his Head being no less warm than his Heart; and that it was to be wished for his Glory and the Happiness of his Subjects, he had cur'd himself thus of his  
 other

other Failings; of that strange invincible Obstinacy which never left him till he died; of that Inflexibility in his Resolutions, his Enterprizes, and the Orders he gave for the Execution of them; of that cruel Bravery, which represented Glory to him only in Dangers, Difficulties, and the Sacrifice of the greatest Numbers of his Subjects, as well as his Enemies. In a Word, that contradicting Spirit which often oblig'd his Generals to advise him to the contrary of what ought to be done, having observ'd that if they thought fit to attack the Enemy or a Place on the weakest Side, he order'd it to be attack'd on the strongest. I have given Instances of this in another Place, I will repeat only one; Count *Dalbert* having retaken from the Saxons the Fort of *Dunamuden* by Capitulation, after as vigorous and long an Attack of the Besiegers, as was the Resistance of the Besieged, that young Hero would by all means have the Prisoners to be sent back into the Fort and take it by Storm, without giving or receiving Quarter. This was the only Occasion, that the Count and other Officers prevailed on him with much  
ado



ado to recede from his Proposal. This I had from a Colonel then present, whom I mention'd in my third Volume. This reminds me of what you say *Book II*, that the King of *Sweden* had formed alone the Plan of the Passage of the *Duna*, by which he might attack the *Saxons*: That Colonel told me it was General *Dalbert's* sole Invention; the King gave only Orders for the Execution.

The Relations of the Victory at *Narva*, besieged by the *Moscovites* in 1700, differ much in several Circumstances; and what I heard from the said Colonel, and other both *Livonian* and *Swedish* Officers, does not quite agree with your's. You make the King land with about 16000 Foot, and a few more than 4000 Horse, and march at the Head of the latter and 4000 Foot to *Revel*. You don't say what became of the rest of his Foot, but you make him beat and put to Flight 5000 *Moscovites* of the advanced Guard, then about a League from their Camp, 20000 posted beyond them, at last 10000 in the Camp; and all this with the *Veni, Vidi, Vici* of *Cæsar*, and so on. Other Relations, which have been confirm-

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ed to me by those Officers (few Circumstances excepted) represent him marching immediately after his landing on the 16<sup>th</sup> of November, with his 20000 Men, directly North of *Darpt*, where the Czar foreseeing it, had sent no less than 20000 Men to secure the Passes at *Sillajuggi*, and on that Side of *Darpt*. They say the King of *Sweden* made a Shew of marching directly against them, but instead of this got between them and their main Army, and thereby cut off their Retreat, contenting himself to send a Detachment to engage them. They add, that these 20000 *Moscovites* thinking they had all the *Swedish* Forces to encounter with, were put into Confusion, and making but a faint Resistance, were soon defeated and put to Flight, which opened to the *Swedes* the Way to the main Army, consisting of about 80000 Men; who in the Absence of the Czar, and seeing the other Troops defeated, were extremely discouraged: That the Duke of *Croy*, who commanded in Chief, made the best Dispositions which were possible on the small Extent of the Ground could admit, posting the Infantry in the  
Entrench-

Entrenchment, and a second Line to strengthen them, with the Cavalry behind to support them: That these Dispositions were hardly made when the King attack'd them with eight Battalions, having at their Head Gen. *Rebinder*, an Officer of no less Experience and Prudence, than Valour. That the *Moscovites* stood their Ground for several Hours, making a terrible Fire upon the *Swedes*; but not being animated by the Presence of their Monarch, at that Time gone to fetch a Reinforcement of 35000 Men from *Pleskow*, as the *Swedes* were, whose King at the Head of the Horse supported the Foot, they gave Way in great Confusion, and sustain'd an incomparably greater Slaughter than the *Swedes*, who carry'd off their Entrenchment and Lines. Many endeavouring to fly for Safety were drown'd, and a much greater Number taken Prisoners. The Horse made off in a tolerably good Order towards *Pleskow*, and gave the Czar (whom they met some Leagues on this Side of the City) the first News of his great Army's Defeat. The Number of the *Moscovites* slain, they say, was about 20000, and of the *Swedes* be-



tween 2 and 3000, among these the brave Generals *Rebinder* and *Rubbinghen*, after they had performed Prodigies of Valour.

The forementioned Colonel and other Officers told me, that the Number of Prisoners was so extraordinary great, that it was thought fit to retain only the chief Officers, and dismiss the rest, who were disarm'd to a Knife, then their Breeches slit in two, so that they were forced to hold them up with both Hands, and thus were driven along before a few *Swedish* Officers like a Flock of Sheep, to the Distance of a full League from *Narva*. They told me nothing of the King's having two Horses killed under him, no more than of the terrible Representation made to him of the great Hazard of the Attempt, and of his Majesty's Answer to it; not a Word of the natural Reflection he made upon the strange Fate of the *Asiatick* Czarafis, or Prince, as you term him, nor of his Modesty in cutting out with his Hand whatever was too flattering or advantageous to him in the Relation of the Victory. But all the Persons who are engaged in an Action, don't always know every Circumstance of it.

1799

I won't

I won't contend with you about the Etymology, or the true Signification of the Word *Czar* or *Czarafs*. 'Tis generally agreed, that it is derived from *Cæsar*, or *Kaiçar*. I never heard any Monarch call'd *Czar* but that of *Moscovy*, not even by the *Georgians* themselves; his eldest Son has been always stiled *Czarowitz*. All the *Asiatick* People call the Prince of *Georgia* *Gurgistan-bey*, as they do do that of *Moldavia*, *Bodganbey*, &c. which signifies only a Chief or Governor. But I know that the King of *Persia* and the *Grand Signor*, to whom *Moldavia* and *Valachia* are tributary, as *Georgia* is to the *Sophi*, turn out and put in the Governors of those Provinces at Pleasure. Among the Privileges which the *Persians* and the *Turks* granted to the *Georgians* and *Moldavians*, &c. when they conquer'd their Countries, one was (which is still preserved to them) that they should be governed by some distinguished Persons of their own Nation and Religion, whom we call Princes, but without hereditary Succession. The Children indeed often succeed, if they are judged fit to govern and their Fathers have behaved to

the Satisfaction of the Sophi, or the Grand Seignor. But *Mavro Cordato*, who succeeded *Cantemir* in the Principality of *Moldavia*, and afterwards to the Prince of *Valachia*, was related to neither of them.

There are various Accounts of the Victory obtain'd by the *Swedes* over the *Moscovites* at *Narva*, and of the Battle of *Pultawa*, where the *Moscovites* were Conquerors.

'Tis said, that your Relation of those Victories differ from what we have hitherto received, and several Officers who were present at them tell us, that you have deviated from the Truth in the latter, more than even in the former. This Point I will not presume to determine, but go back for a Moment to *Narva*.

Count *Hoorn*, who commanded in that Place, and other Officers of Experience and Fame, who had the best Share in the Victory gained there, were of Opinion, that *Charles*, instead of despising the *Moscovites* as unworthy of his Courage, and of pursuing the next Year the *Saxons* vanquish'd at *Riga*, into the Heart of *Poland*, being resolved to depose King *Augustus*, should have push'd  
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the Advantages which his Victory had put into his Hand, and pursued his Revenge solely against the Czar, to force him to beg for Peace, without giving his Troops Time to learn the Art of War; according to a Maxim of the great *Gustavus Adolphus*, who would not prolong a War any more than two Years with that Nation. But *Charles* had taken a Resolution which no Body was able to make him recede from. He leaves but a few Troops in *Livonia*, which serv'd only to exercise the *Moscovites*; and occasion'd Count *d'Albert* to say, that the Victory of *Narva* spoil'd him, and that 'twas to be wish'd he had been beaten there. However he succeeds in deposing King *Augustus*, and not content with this, when, cover'd with Laurels, and equally feared and admired by all *Europe*, he might have held the Balance of it, and have been the Arbiter of a Peace between the high Allies and *France*, and might have granted one to the Czar, upon what Conditions he had pleased to have prescribed to him; he penetrates into the very Heart of *Moscovy*, positively resolv'd to dethrone the Czar, as he before had done *Augustus*: And this without Ma-

gazines, but leaving fortified Places behind him, and against all the Remonstrances of his General Officers and of *Mazeppa* himself, who knew the Countrey much better than he did. This Proceeding of the King induced General *Renchild* to say to him, a few Days before the Battle of *Pultawa*, "If the Czar had paid your Majesty, he could not expect to be better served for his Money." And an old Colonel, my peculiar Friend, representing to him how much it was against the Rules of War to leave fortified Places behind him, where there could be no Retreat in case of Misfortune, especially in so remote a Countrey, where they had no Prospect of Recruit; the King answer'd with some Heat, *You are perhaps afraid of losing Correspondence with your Wives or Mistresses; I will carry you so far, that you shall hardly be able to hear from Sweden in four Years.* Thus *Charles* taking Counsel only from his Bravery, went, as you have well observed, to lose at *Pultawa*, the Fruits of nine Years Victories. I'll add, then fled the first Time, and that before an Enemy who never met him in Person before.

You

You tell us in the fourth Book, that the King perceived from the Beginning of the Siege of *Pultawa*, that he had taught his Enemies the Art of War; I don't know but 'twas too true and too late. Thus the *Romans* by often beating the *Gauls* and other barbarous Nations, taught them their Discipline, by which they were enabled to beat their Masters, as you make the Czar call General *Rencbild* and other Officers that were then Prisoners.

You say in the third Book, that General *Rencbild* caused the *Muscovite* Prisoners to be inhumanly massacred, above six Hours after the Battle of *Fravenstadt*. 'Twas the King himself who ordered it, and the General who never committed an Action during the whole War, or even his whole Life, which might be term'd inhuman or cruel, did all that lay in his Power to prevent it. The King was not six Leagues from *Fravenstadt*, when he heard the News of the Battle. 'Tis true he delighted in driving the *Muscovites* from Place to Place before him, and pushed them sometimes into the Heart or Extremities of *Lithuania*, or any where else, at the Head of a few



Horfe. A Colonel who was with him told me, that he has seen him more than once attack with 200 *Drabans* above 2000 of them, kill several, and put the rest to Flight. I myself have seen him in *Norway* set out with sixty or seventy Horsemen, and go to brave the *Danes* in their very Camp, and bring back to his Quarter at *Torpuni* several Prisoners, after having had a Horse kill'd under him, at which he express'd more Satisfaction than if he had kill'd twenty of theirs. If he may be said to have been barbarous, (which I wont presume to assert, nor to use so harsh a Term) 'twas on occasion of that Massacre. I suppose when you say that only one Action of his deserved that Character, you mean the Execution of *Patkul*. This, as far as I am able, I shall set in its true Light: I know this Execution appeared very cruel to the *Swedes* themselves; I heard some of their Officers say, that his own Nephew being then an Officer in the King's Service, was ordered to be the Person to see that Execution perform'd. I know that the Narrative wrote by a Chaplain who attended Count *Patkul* at his Execution, an Extract of  
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of which the Lord *Molesworth* publish'd in *English*, as others did in *French* and *High Dutch*, represents that unfortunate Gentleman as a Martyr to Liberty and the Love of his Countrey, and the King of *Sweden* deaf to all Humanity, as well as Intercession. I have endeavour'd to excuse that Rigour in my second Volume, by ascribing it to one of *Patkul's* most inveterate Enemies, a Favourite of that Monarch, who did not find out his Perfidiousness till he came to *Bender*, and then banished him from his Presence for ever. The Remonstrances made by Count *Patkull* to *Charles XI.* in the Name of the *Livonian* Nobility, stript of their Privileges and their Estates, which *Gustavus Adolphus* had granted to their Forefathers as a Reward for their Services in his Wars, might appear just in a free State, as *England* is; but were judg'd to tax an absolute Prince, as *Charles XI.* was, with a double Injustice; for his *Swedish* Subjects had before undergone the same Treatment. These complain'd only in Secret, and not so much of their Prince, as of the Person who furnished him with the Plan, and advised him to the Reduction;

on; who was made Count and President of a Tribunal erected for that Purpose, under the Name of the Court of *Liquidations*. The gracious Reception which *Patkul* met with from the King, gave him some Hopes of at least a Mitigation, but was struck with Astonishment, you may well imagine, when he heard from a true Friend that his bold Step had been declar'd High Treason by the Court; and that the Prince had given Orders for arresting his Person, to have him tried as a Traytor. The same Friend advised him to abscond and leave the Countrey, which he did without losing Time, and retir'd into *Poland*, where he soon heard the News of his Condemnation. I have been credibly assur'd, that he used his best Endeavours by humble Petitions, which he put in the Hands of the *Swedish* Minister at the *Polish* Court, and by Letters he sent to *Stockholm*, to obtain his Pardon, offering to sacrifice his Life and Estate in his Majesty's Service; but all in vain. *Charles XI.* being dead, *Charles XII.* (a Prince as generous and liberal as his Father was covetous) no sooner was declared of Age to take the Government of the Kingdom



dom upon himself, than he established a second Court called the Court of *Revision*, to examine into the Resolutions and Proceedings of the Court of *Liquidations*. This Court of *Revision* was intended by his Majesty to do Justice to the People who might have been injured by the former: By this Scrutiny the Subjects recovered at least a third Part of what was taken from them. The Reason why *Patkul's* Sentence was confirmed, was because *Charles XII.* had Information that he had laid the Plan of a Triple Alliance between the Kings of *Denmark, Poland,* and the Czar, to bring them at once upon the *Swedish* Dominions, and that the said *Patkul* had not ceased to blow the Coals of that War, which cost so much Blood. If he was innocent, he ought, 'tis said, to have retired into some neutral Countrey, or some Kingdom in Alliance with *Sweden*, as soon as he saw that War begun, instead of remaining in the Czar's Service. What other Name, they ask, can be given to *Patkul's* Proceeding than that of High Treason? And since the Laws of *Sweden* punish this Crime with the Rack, what Barbarity can

can *Charles XII.* be reproached with? But, you'll object, *Paikel* was taken a second Time in Arms against his Sovereign, and yet was only condemned to be beheaded for it. But *Paikel*, it must be remember'd, appear'd to *Charles* less guilty, and was in reality so, if 'tis true that *Patkul* fomented the War against his own Countrey. You'll add perhaps, that *Charles* broke thro' the Right of Nations by causing *Patkul* to be delivered up. This is an Objection indeed which I beg Leave to be excused from answering.

The Encomiums which you have bestowed on the Duke of *Marlborough* are just. King *William III.* a little before his last Minutes, advised Queen *Anne* to trust him with the chief Command of the *British* Forces, knowing none in the three Kingdoms fitter for it: For, said the King, *he has a cool Head and a warm Heart.* But give me Leave to tell you, that you are misinformed concerning several Circumstances of his Audiences, both with the King and Count *Piper.* You say " that " on his Arrival at *Leipsick*, he applied " himself not to Count *Piper*, but to Ba-  
" ron

“ ron *Goerts*, who began to share *Charles's*  
 “ Confidence with him, that this great Ge-  
 “ neral at his first Audience with the King,  
 “ which lasted an Hour, having learn'd by  
 “ a long Course of Experience the Art of  
 “ penetrating into the Sentiments of Man-  
 “ kind, and finding out the Agreement  
 “ between their inmost Thoughts and their  
 “ Actions, Gestures, and Discourse, fixed  
 “ his Eyes upon that Monarch ; that when  
 “ he spoke to him of War in general, he  
 “ thought he perceived in him a natural  
 “ Aversion towards the *French*, and ob-  
 “ served he was pleased at his talking of  
 “ the Conquests of the *Allies*; but when  
 “ he mentioned the Czar, his Eyes always  
 “ kindled at the Name; and observing  
 “ further a Map of *Moscovy* upon a Ta-  
 “ ble, he wanted no more to determine  
 “ him in his Judgment, that *Charles's* real  
 “ Design, and his whole Ambition were to  
 “ dethrone the Czar, as he had done the  
 “ King of *Poland*, &c. that at last being  
 “ satisfied with this Discovery, he made  
 “ him no kind of Proposal.

I never heard before of Baron *Goerts's*  
 sharing the King's Favour and Trust with  
 Count



Count *Piper*, no more than of such a Penetration of the Duke. It must indeed have been wonderful and extraordinary to find out at the Sight of a Map of *Moscovy*, the real Design of *Charles* to march that Way and dethrone *Peter*; which Design you say afterwards the *Swedes* were so ignorant of, that in full March they did not know where that Hero was leading them.

I never heard but from you, nor observed that the King had a natural Aversion to *France*, and that he was pleased at the Account of the Conquests of the High Allies. I observed on the contrary, when at *Bender*, that he could not conceal his Uneasiness at the News of the *French* Losses: He took *French* Men into his Armies, preferably to any other Strangers; and I knew none of his Officers but were all *French*: They complain'd indeed that *France* had abandon'd them in their Misfortune, that they had not received one Penny for the Subsidies due from thence to *Sweden*, during their whole Stay in *Turkey*. As to the Audience that great General had, I have been inform'd from a good Hand, that he did not think himself treat-

ed, when in *Saxony*, with the Regard due to his Character, either by your Hero, or even by his Minister Count *Piper*. The following Account I received from a Gentleman who had the Honour to be in the Coach with him one Morning, when he was to have Audience with the Count: The Duke being at the Door of his House exactly at the Hour appointed, let him know he was there; the Answer he received was, That his Excellency was busy, or some such trifling Pretence was alledged. The Duke waited there a full half Hour; but as soon as he saw the Count at his Door ready to receive him, he stepped out of the Coach, put on his Hat, passed by him, and retired on one Side, pretending to make Water: When he had detain'd him a more than sufficient Time for that Purpose, he went and address'd himself to him in those polite Terms, which that great Man was always Master of.

The Treaty of King *Charles* with the Emperor *Joseph* in Favour of the Protestant *Silesians*, which you make his Imperial Majesty break through; as soon as *Charles* was deprived of the Power of imposing

posing Laws, was not till then put in Execution, I mean not 'till after the Battle of *Pultawa*. I saw in 1726, when passing through *Silesia* on my Return from *Russia*, those Protestants in Possession of their Churches, and enjoying the Privileges and Liberties they had recover'd by the Treaty.

'Twas Baron *Stratheim*, as I have said in my third Volume, who told *Charles* the next Morning after his Return from visiting King *Augustus* at *Dresden*, what you made Gen. *Renchild* say to him. This Visit was look'd upon as a Rashness by some of his Officers, and by others as a Piece of vain Curiosity, which prompted him to see the Countenance of a Prince whom he had forced to subscribe to the hardest Conditions that ever a Conqueror could impose upon the most inveterate Enemy. But it would have been the most glorious and generous Action of his Life, if he had paid his Visit to *Augustus*, or invited him to his Quarters, immediately after the Ratification of the Treaty of *Altranstadt*, and tore it before his Face, and then had said to a Prince who possessed in the highest Degree



Degree all the Royal Qualifications, *receive your Crown again, be my Friend as faithfully as I'll be yours*: Such a Victory over himself, an Act of so great Generosity had gain'd him more Honour than all the Advantages he could possibly have over that Prince. This would have won him a true and inviolable Friend, who would have been so by Inclination and Gratitude. He would have preserv'd the Title of Conqueror which you mention, and satisfy'd that Ambition of his of gaining Kingdoms to give them away again.

The *Turkish* Ambassador extraordinary, whom you make the Grand Signor send him, was a single Aga sent to the Republick of *Poland*, who seeing all the foreign Ministers complimenting the Hero on his Victories, and the new King on his Accession to the Throne, did the like.

You say in the fourth Book, that the Surgeons looking on the Wound which he received at the Beginning of the Siege, others say in the Battle of *Pultawa*, found it begin already to mortify, and were of Opinion that his Leg must be cut off. So you represent the Gangreen in his Foot, immediately

diately after his being wounded, tho' it did not appear there till he came to *Bender*. Mr. *Niewman* the King's Surgeon not being able to make him sensible of his Danger, nor to permit his Wound to be dress'd, during their hard March from *Pultawa* to *Bender*, told him there, that if he would not let him dress it then, he would infallibly lose his Leg, as I have observ'd in my second Volume; (I quote both Volumes often, because you told me you had read them in *English* and *French*) and he added, that his Majesty would never perhaps be able to mount his Horse more. Upon this the King presenting him his Boot to draw, said to him, *See, fall to Work*. *Niewman* finding the Wound worse than he expected, chang'd Colour; and the King observing his Surprise, asked him what was the Matter; and on the Information this Surgeon gave him, that a Mortification was begun, and that he desired another Surgeon's Assistance, with a Physician's Advice; *Why*, said the King, *don't you know what is to be done?* " Yes Sir, reply'd " *Niewman*, but I dare not proceed further, without the Assistance I have " asked;

"asked; for I must not treat your Majesty as I would a common Dragoon." The King was uncommonly angry at the Expression, repeating these Words several Times with more Heat than he was often known to shew: *I expect you should have the same Regard to the meanest Soldier in my Service as myself;* and chid him very severely for the Expression.

Then Newman did as he was bid, without replying a Word. That able Surgeon having the most patient Person in the World to deal with, made use of his Instruments and Causticks so opportunely, that having taken out a little Bone already rotten, his Majesty found himself in a Capacity to walk in the middle of *August*.

The Bone was sent to the Princess *Ulrica Eleonora*, the King's Sister, now Queen of *Sweden*, which she put herself, with a Torrent of Tears running from her Eyes, into the Coffin, when his Body was brought embalmed from *Norway* to *Stockholm*.

This said Newman was made afterwards his Majesty's *Valet de Chambre*, and continued his Surgeon, and had the melancholy Office of embalming his Master after his



Death. He said he never saw a sounder Body, not the least Imperfection in it, except that the inner Coats of the lower Belly were thinner than ordinary, which he attributed to his severe Exercise in riding; so that had that Prince lived longer, he could not have avoided a Rupture.

I dare affirm, that all I have related in my two former Volumes, both of what passed from *Pultawa* to *Bender* and here, may be depended upon; most Part of it I have been an Eye-witness of, and the rest I have from Officers who were along with the King, and from Mr. *Niewman* himself. I'll repeat some Particulars from thence for the Benefit of those who have not read them. I have informed my Reader in my first Volume, that all Things being desperate at *Pultawa*, the King suffered himself to be persuaded by Chancellor *Mullern*, the General of Artillery, created so by King *Stanislaus* in *Poland*, a Favourite of that Prince, as well as of his *Swedish* Majesty, and by some others who were about him, to cross the *Borysthenes* and go to *Turkey*, to avoid falling into the Czar's Power. You may see by the Way that

that the whole Chancery was not taken Prisoner as you said it was, witness Chancellor *Mullern*, Baron *Fief* and several Secretaries or Officers belonging to it, whom Messieurs *Fabrice*, *Jeffreys*, and I, redeem'd from the *Turks* and *Tartars*, after the Action of *Varnitza*. I'll add, that the Count *Piper* (of whom you said in the same Place he died some Years after in *Moscow*) ended his Days in the Castle of *Notteborg*, now *Slutelburgh*, some Leagues above *Petersburgh*, which I have mention'd in my third Volume.

The King being (as I said) prevail'd upon by the said Gentleman to retire into *Turkey*, passed the *Borysthenes*, went in a Coach which had been transported for his Majesty on Account of his Wound, with General *Hoord*, and they began their March thro' the Desarts, call'd by the Ancients *Scotia Parva*, where in 1711, I was almost perish'd on my Return from *Circassia*. All his People who had escaped followed, some on Horseback, some on Foot for want of Horses, and several in little Waggon, which they had taken Care to bring over

the River on account of the Sick and Wounded.

After having wandered and fasted too long in that Defart, without finding a Way to get out, in Danger of perishing for want of Water and Provision (which I thought would have been my Lot three Years after) they arrived at last on the northern Side of the *Bogh*, within about a League of *Cracow*, whence the King sent General *Poniatofsky* with Secretary *Clinkonstrom* to the *Pacha* of that Place, to compliment him on his Behalf, and to ask Leave for a Passage thro' the *Ottoman* Territories under his Government. They had hardly crossed that River, and were not yet arrived at the Town, when an *Aga* whom this *Pacha* had dispatched to his Majesty, upon the Advice which he had from some *Tartars* wandering in the Defart of his Approach, very civilly prevented their Compliment with his, and the Offer of Refreshments, which could never have come more opportunely, as you may well imagine. He had given his Orders to gather all the Boats that could be met with thereabout, for the King's and his People's Passage. There could



could not be found a sufficient Number for all; so that five hundred were left on that Side of the River, and were taken Prisoners by General *Walkowisky* before the Return of the Boats, nay in the very Sight of the King just then landed. That General was sent by the Czar in Pursuit of the *Swedes* and others, or as he said to the *Swedish* Generals his Prisoners, to fetch his Brother *Charles* in these Terms, *I want my Brother Charles to keep you Company, I have sent Walkowisky to bring him.* The King had hardly entred into a Tent that was pitched for him, when the *Pacha* came in Person to confirm by Word of Mouth the Message he had sent him by his *Aga*, and was followed with Waggons loaded with Provisions and other Necessaries. He said to the King, “ That he had  
 “ already dispatch’d an Express to the  
 “ Grand Signor, and others to the Seraf-  
 “ quier of *Bender*, and to the Han, who  
 “ was then at *Cauchan*, a small Town  
 “ three Leagues farther than *Bender*, to  
 “ give them Advice of his Majesty’s Arri-  
 “ val in the *Ottoman* Empire; and that  
 “ he did not doubt but his Majesty would

“ be treated in a Manner suitable to his  
 “ Royal Dignity.” He expressed his Sor-  
 row to the Chamberlain *Gyllenstierna*, who  
 serv'd as Interpreter, telling him of the  
 five hundred *Swedes* taken Prisoners on the  
 other Side of the *Bogh* for want of Boats;  
 assuring his Majesty, that he used all possi-  
 ble Diligence, but there was not a greater  
 Number of Boats to be got, nor sooner.  
 The King accepted of his Refreshments  
 and Excuses, without giving him the severe  
 Reprimand which you are pleased to men-  
 tion. I have this from Mr. *Gyllenstierna*  
 himself. The Pacha invited the King to  
 lodge in the Town, but he rather chose to  
 remain in his Tent; whereupon the Pacha  
 ordered other Tents to be fetched and  
 pitched for his People with all necessary  
 Provisions: So the Pacha of *Ozakow* did  
 not expect any Answer or Order from the  
 Serafquier of *Bender* to let the King pass  
 the *Bogh*, otherwise he had been taken  
 Prisoner with all his Men. The King then  
 wrote a Letter to the Grand Signor, to no-  
 tify to his Highness his Arrival, asking  
 his Protection, and free Passage thro' the  
*Ottoman* Dominions, in order to join the  
 Army

Army he had left in *Poland*. He wrote another to the Vizier, which I have inserted in the Appendix to my first Volume. The first you have abridg'd by above half in *Book V.* and have not mentioned the latter, which was to the same Purpose. His Majesty gave these Letters in Charge to Mr. *Neughebaur*, a *Livonian* Gentleman, investing him with the Character of his Envoy at the Port, and the Pacha order'd an Aga and a *Cossack* Servant that understood his Language and the *Turkish*, to accompany him to *Constantinople*.

No sooner the *Serasquier* of *Bender* heard of the King's Arrival at *Ozakow*, but he dispatched him one of his Officers to compliment him on his Behalf, sending him a Present of a magnificent Tent, and inviting his Majesty to come to *Bender*: The King accepted of his Present, and departed from *Ozakow*, accompany'd by the Pacha for some Leagues, and by several of his Officers to lead him through the Desert, that extends for about thirty Leagues between *Ozakow* and *Palanca*, a small Town, with a Fort so call'd, being preceded, by Waggon's loaded with Provisions.



So 'twas not the Serafquier of *Bender*, as you say, but the Pacha of *Ozakow*, who supply'd his Majesty with those Provisions to this Town. You are mistaken likewise in your Distance between *Ozakow* and *Bender*, which are forty Leagues at least; I cross'd that Desert (*Solitudo Getarum*) in 1711, when I went to *Circassia*; the Pacha of *Ozakow*'s Government extending no farther on that Side than to *Palanca*; the Serafquier of *Bender* had indeed sent Orders for supplying the King with Necessaries from hence to *Bender*. About a quarter of an Hour after the King's Arrival at *Palanca*, a Myrfa came up to him from the *Han*, with a Compliment, and a Waggon covered with Scarlet, and drawn by four Horses, with a fine Tent, both which his Majesty accepted very graciously, and desired the Myrfa to return his Thanks to the *Han*. The King, on his Arrival at *Bender*, was saluted with a Salvo of thirty six Cannons, and received with the Acclamations of Janizaries, drawn up in two Lines. His Majesty passing between them, repaired to a Tent pitch'd by the Serafquier's Order on the Side of the *Nuster*,

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opposite to the Town. The Serafquier went to welcome him, and invite him to take his Quarters in the Town, but his Majesty chose rather to encamp. There-upon a sufficient Number of Tents were pitch'd for the Company that attended him, who converted their Camp soon after into a little Town, &c. as I have related in my first Volume.

You are pleas'd to tell us in the fifth Book, that Gen. *Poniatofsky* found Means to convey a Letter of the King to the Sultaneſs *Validé*, or Mother of the Grand Signor. This Letter, and thoſe which you make that Sultaneſs write with her own Hand to the ſaid General; the very great Satisfaction which you aſcribe to her in hearing of the King's Exploits; her Inclination for that extraordinary Prince, without having ſeen him; her taking his Part in the *Seraglio*, calling him by no other Name than that of her *Lyon*; her aſking the Sultan her Son when he would ſend her *Lyon* to devour the Czar, &c. all theſe Circumſtances, I ſay, appear merely romantick, and deſerving a Place in the *Turkiſh Spy*, or in the *Persian Letters*, to all our

our Merchants who have lived for some Years in *Turkey*, and to every one who has the least Knowledge of the Humour and Government of that Empire, or of the Education of the Sultaneſſes, who are all bought Slaves, the Grand Signors never marrying, but making uſe of ſuch Concubines as are taught to ſing, dance, and caſſes their Maſters, but never to write; as I have amply related in my firſt Volume.

This reminds me of an Hiſtory, or rather a Romance, written in *French*, of Prince *Tekely*. That Prince, not underſtanding *French*, deſired me to explain him a few Paſſages of it in *Latin*, which he underſtood pretty well. He laugh'd very heartily at one (among others) which repreſents him to be carry'd ſhut up in a large Clock-Caſe to a Sultaneſs's Chamber; and, ſo enclosed, to be ſent back again (after his Buſineſs was done) to a Clockmaker, under Colour of the Clock's wanting to be mended. He thus exclaim'd, *O ſæcundam Gallorum Imaginationem!* "O copious Imagination of the *French* Writers!

Mr. *Brue* was my intimate Friend, and has ſupply'd me with ſome Memoirs relating



ting to the *Turkish* Government and Manners. He knew too well the Indifference and Contempt which the *Turks* have to the Christians, to represent them pleased with making them the Subject of their Conversation. General *Poniatofsky* (now one of the greatest Lords in *Poland*, and as much in King *Augustus's* Favour, as he was in King *Stanislaus's*) knew them well enough not to write to the Sultan; he has nothing less in him than Vanity; he honour'd me with his Favour, during his Stay in *Turkey*. I had the Liberty and the Opportunity of discoursing almost every Day with him. He never let fall any Word like what you mention; and I dare affirm, that he never boasted seriously of having still in his Custody (as you so positively pretend) any Letter from the Sultaness *Validé*. I saw him again in 1726 at *Warsaw*; where he gave me fresh Proofs of his Kindness. I received three Months ago, a kind Answer to a Letter which I wrote him on my Departure from *Holland*. In short, those that know the *Turks*, and impartially judge of Things, have the like Opinion of *Validé's* Lyon, as of King *Augustus's*

*Augustus's* Bear, which, you make him say so often, he keeps tied at *Bender*. The *Turks* suspected indeed in 1703 the *Validé*, of sharing with the *Mufti* the Profit of the most considerable Places of the Empire, which her Son the Sultan *Mustapha*, who was entirely govern'd by him gave or took away, as he was advised by him. But whether such a Suspicion was well grounded, or no, 'tis uncertain. However, the Malecontents who deposed Sultan *Mustapha*, and set his Brother *Achmet* on the Throne, required then of the latter (as I was told) that he should give her no Share in the Affairs of the Port, and I never heard her since to be suspected of meddling with any Thing relating thereto, either within or without the Walls of the Seraglio.

'Twas the King's Sobriety or Rigidness in abstaining from Wine, not his Regularity at divine Service, that made the *Turks* say, *He would make a good Mussulman*. One of his Chaplains told me, that he was indeed very religious 'till his Defeat at *Pultawa*, never missing any publick or private Prayers or Sermons: That he knelt always in the middle of the Fields upon

on the bare Ground before any Battel, praying most exemplarily. That he began to do so in his first Campaign against the *Danes*, and consequently a long while before he knew the Philosopher of *Leipsick*, who, you say, Book VIII. was a great Free-Thinker, and instilled into him his Notions and Opinions. The same Chaplain added, that considering his Indifference about Religion appeared not 'till after that Battle, it looked as if he thought himself forsaken by Heaven; and so in a sort of Revenge resolved to forsake it, if I may repeat his own Expressions. I my self have more than once seen at *Bender*, this Prince standing or leaning against a Wall, and playing during the whole divine Service with a little Dog of Baron *Mullern*, or doing something or other, which shew'd his little Regard of what he was about. You say in the same Book, that of all his Opinions he retained but one, which was absolute Predestination, as a Doctrine that favoured his Courage, and justified his Rashness.

I look upon you, Sir, as better versed in Mythology, than in Theology. No  
*Christians*



*Christians* are greater Enemies to Predestination, and to *Calvinists* on this Account, than the *Lutherans* are. I heard a Minister of the great Church at *Stockholm* say, "That had he a Son who embraced such a damnable Doctrine, as he termed it, he would cut his Throat with his own Hand."

The Vial with Poison designed by the *Moscovite* Embassador for General *Poniatofsky*, which you mention, Book V, to have been found in a Servant's Hands and carried to the Grand Signor; the Embassador's demanding *Mazeppa* to be delivered up to the Port to his Master; the Part of seven Millions, said to be given to the Vizier and other Ministers of State by Count *Tolstoy*, have no Foundation in Fact, and were mere Inventions to render the *Moscovites* odious among the *Turks*.

As to *Mazeppa*, the *Turks* do not use to violate the Asylum or Right of Nations. *Cantemir* was at least as guilty as that Cossack; they had it in their Power to force the Czar to deliver him up, when they granted him, at *Pruth*, a Peace upon Articles

ticles almost of their own prescribing, and yet they did not ask it.

You ascribe upon much the same Authority to *Charles XII*, the Deposition of Viziers who did not fall into his Measures, or did not seem cordially to espouse his Interests. I have seen Viziers and other Ministers of State, at least as frequently deposed before his Arrival, as during his Stay in *Turkey*. The true Causes of such Changes are never or very seldom known without the Walls of the Seraglio. 'Tis so customary a Thing, that 'tis only heard that a Vizier or a Pacha is deposed, and there is no more Talk about it.

What you are pleased to tell us of the *Han*, who being gained over by the Presents and Intrigues of the King of *Sweden*, got the Grand Signor's Leave to permit the general Rendezvouz of the *Ottoman* Army, designed against the Czar, to be at *Bender* under *Charles's* Eyes, is altogether a mere Imagination. The *Han* indeed was a great Instrument in bringing on the War, it being his Interest, and always as favourable to the *Tartars* as they could wish; but he never thought of this, nor was of-

D

ferred

ferred Presents for a Thing that was not even to be proposed.

You make *Baltagi Mehemet Vizier*, by an Intrigue of his Wife, who, you say, opposed that Rendezvouz. You depose him by another Intrigue, and make him Vizier again by a third; and then to tell the Grand Signor, on receiving with Reluctance the Seal and a Scymitar from his Hand, “ *Your Highness knows I have been brought up to use an Ax and fell Wood, and not to wield a Sword, and command Armies. I will however do my best to serve you; but if I fail of Success, remember I entreated you not to lay it to my Charge:* And you add, that the Grand-Signor promised him as much. If there was any Thing in this, no body heard the Conversation between the Grand Signor and his Ministers. Instead of giving out such imaginary Intrigues of making the Sultan, the Viziers, the King of *Sweden*, the Pacha’s, &c. say witty or silly Things which no body heard them say, and to which your Readers answer, as the *Italians* do to those Things which they hardly believe, *Se non è vero e ben trovato*; you ought to relate



late material Facts, and true Circumstances, which you are able to prove to the World.

You make the grand Army of the *Turks* to be drawn up at *Belgrade*, and the Vizier *Baltagi Mehemet* leave his Camp there on the News of the Czar's coming up to the *Pruth*, to follow the Course of the *Danube* with that Army, and march to meet him with as great Speed and Success, as you made *Charles* march from *Pernau* to *Narva*, with his Eight Thousand *Swedes*. Thus, according to you, that Vizier went above one ~~Thousand~~ Leagues out of his Way, as will appear to any body who will cast his Eyes on my Map *B.* or any other *Turkish* Map, if he has the least Notion of Geography. Neither the Vizier nor that Army ever went to *Belgrade*, nor even any other, but when the Port was at War with the Emperor of *Germany*. He was at *Constantinople*, or encamped with the greatest Part of the Army without the Walls, when he received the News of the Czar's advancing into *Moldavia*, and of \* *Cantemir's*

*hundred*

\* *Cantemir*, (as the Russian Minister newly come is here called) never was Prince of *Valachia*, nor his Father.

being gone to him with eight Thousand *Moldavians*. The general Rendezvouz of the *Turkish* Army was appointed at *Adrianople*, and the Review to be made at *Saccia*, according to the circular Command of the Grand Signor, inserted in my second Volume. Mr. *Fabricius* and I took the same Road when we went at that Time from *Constantinople* to *Bender*, and passed through the Troops, who were marching very slowly; it is the direct and shortest Way to *Moldavia*. In the mean while the Czar was endeavouring to draw to his Side *Bessarabba*, Prince of *Valachia*, as he had done *Cantemir*; but the former knowing better than *Cantemir* the Inclination of the *Valachians*, and even of the *Moldavians*, gave only fair Words to the Czar, as he had done formerly to the Emperor, and not being much truer to the *Port* than to them, as it was thought, suffered Death three Years after, with two Sons of his, a Son in Law and his Steward, as I have fully related in the said Volume, with the Proceedings of all those Princes, and of the Vizier. The Czar, among other false Steps he took then, burned several Villages of  
*Vala-*

*Valachia*, with the little Town called *Ibracli* on the *Danube*; and instead of disputing with all his Forces the Passage of this River, ran towards the *Pruth*: The Vizier advancing thereupon, reviewed the Army, and laid his Bridge where *Darius* (as you said after me) built formerly his own; and having passed the River without the least Opposition, or seeing a *Moscovite*, went to meet them at the *Pruth*, where he arrived before them, as I have fully observed in my sixth Volume, where you might see all this, and much more. I quote often my two Volumes, especially the latter, which contains all the Particulars concerning the Transactions between the King of *Sweden* and the *Port*, because you told me you had read them both in *English* and *French*.

I was near enough to Vizier *Baltagi Mehemet's* Tent, to see or hear what passed in it; and I have been informed of most Particulars, both by *Turkish* and *Moscovite* Officers: Among the latter by an *Italian* Count who carried the Letter signed by the Czar to that Vizier, who told me, that *Catharine* (since Empress) had then



but few Jewels, and those of no great Value; that she gathered no Money among the Officers for the Vizier. I saw the Presents made to him and his *Kiajaw Osman Aga*; they were Sables and black Fox Furs. There were perhaps some Diamonds added to them, which I did not see. The old Pacha, under whose Tent I was at that Time, told me afterwards, that there were found in the Treasure of *Osman Aga*, beheaded for the Reason I have mentioned, about Thirteen Thousand Gold Ducats, and Two Thousand Dollars in Silver. Sultan *Ibrahim*, whom he and the old Vizier had designed to set upon the Throne, after they had deposed *Achmet III.* for which they both lost their Heads, was not Sultan *Mustapha's* Son, but the only Son of Sultan *Solyman*. He died soon after that Plot, not without Suspicion of being poisoned by *Achmet's* Orders.

*Baltagi Mehemet* was not deposed for the Reason which you mention, nor for any other, nor even banished; but he desired his Dismission from the Grand Signor on account of his Age, and chose *Lemnos* for his Retirement. *Jussuff* Pacha was  
even

even recommended by him to the Grand Signor, for his Successor in the Vizieriat.

The King of *Sweden* did not tear that Vizier's Robe with his Spur, but much dirted his Sopha with his Boots. I have from the best Hands what I have related of their Interview and Conversation. As to the Vizier's Answer to the King, "when he told him 'twas incumbent upon him to carry the Czar Prisoner to *Constantinople*," *Who should, says he, govern his Empire in his Absence?* If there passed such a Conversation between them, which has been contradicted, this Answer was natural to a *Turk*. The Question the Pacha of *Ozakow* ask'd me, when I waited upon him in 1711. as I pass'd by this Place, *viz.* "Who govern'd *Sweden* during the King's long Stay in *Turkey?*" is not unlike it. If the Grand Signor now on the Throne was to be taken Prisoner to Morrow, his People from that Moment would think no more of him, but immediately name a Successor, who would not perhaps think himself obliged to comply with any Engagement entred into by his Predecessor. The Vizier judging of the Government of other

Empires and Kingdoms by the *Turkish* one, might naturally make this Answer, " But " who then will govern the *Russian* Empire? " Who shall comply with the Treaty I have now made with the Czar? "

I presume to say, that I have had better Information than you, concerning the Lady *Catharine's* Extraction and Education. I have noted in my third Volume the different Hands which she passed thro', before she came into those of the Czar *Peter I.* Her Mother had been marry'd to a Peasant, and Vassal to Colonel *Rosen*: This Vassal, or her reputed Father (as some will have it) died when she was between four and five Years old, and her Mother did not live long after. The Clerk of *Ringben*, who kept a School, took her to his House till M. *Gluck* the chief Minister at *Marienburg* (a Town in *Livonia*, on the Borders of *Esthonia*) happening to call upon the Clerk (not Super-intendant of the Countrey, as you make him) who had a large Family, liked her, and to ease him of the Charge, carried her to his own House, where she was bred up among his Children, and served in his Family, till a Sergeant



geant in the *Swedish* Service fell in Love with her, ask'd his Leave to pay his Adresses to her, and married her. The very same Day, or the Day after the Ceremony was performed, Lieutenant General *Bawr* became Master of the Town, took her among other Prisoners, sending Mr. *Gluck* to *Moscow* with his Family, liked her and kept her as a kind of House-keeper. Prince *Menzikoff*, his Patron, happening to see her, took a Fancy to her likewise, and demanded her of him, obtain'd her and kept her till the Czar did the like by him as he had done by Lieutenant General *Bawr*. He did not marry her in 1707, as you say, but after the Action at the *Pruth*. You may see the other Particulars in the said Volume.

I have never said nor wrote, as you represent me, that the Book, in the Cover of which I put the King's Commission and other Letters, when I was going to borrow Money for him at *Constantinople*, was my Prayer-Book; but the Book or rather Books (for there were two,) out of which I had taken the Paste-Boards  
and

and put my Dispatches in the Room) were mixt among others in my Bag.

The Grand Signor did not send to *Bender* the 1200 Purfes for the King, till after this Monarch had acquainted him by Letter, that he was desirous and resolved to return into his own Dominions, and had ask'd for 1000 Purfes for that Purpose.

The Letters you mention of Count *Flemming*, written in Cyphers, to the *Han*, and intercepted by the *Swedes*; by which (say you) there plainly appear'd a Correspondence between them; " Though, you  
 " add, the Terms were so general and ambiguous, that it was difficult to determine  
 " whether King *Augustus's* Design was to  
 " persuade the *Han* to deliver up *Charles*  
 " to him, as he attended him on the Road  
 " thro' *Poland*; the latter suspected 'twas  
 " so : " That Suspicion, wherein you are pleased to say this Monarch was confirm'd by the precipitate Departure of Count *Sapieha*, who had fled to *Augustus* for Refuge, in order to throw himself into his Arms, &c. are all the Effects of Imagination, or only a Pretence for King *Charles* to put off his Departure, for which all Things were ready  
 on

on the Grand Signor's Side, and to ask for 1000 Purfes more, as he did, when he saw the generous Facility with which his Highness had ordered 1200 instead of the 1000 Purfes he at first asked of him. The King of *Poland*, far from designing to have his *Swedish* Majesty delivered up to him, offered seven of the *Polish* Grandees, besides his Ambassador that was then detained at *Adrianople* with above 300 Gentlemen, for the Security of his Passage. The Suspicion which was made use of to colour or excuse that Monarch's Refusal to return home, and his Resistance at *Varnitza*, could not be confirmed by Count *Sapieha*'s precipitate Departure; for he did not leave *Bender* till some Weeks after the Action of *Varnitza*, when the King was already arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. The Truth of the Story is this, Count *Sapieha* had exhausted his Substance in the King's Service in *Poland*, and was never the more favourably looked upon by him at *Bender* for it, where he had powerful Enemies among his own Countreymen, who (as he complained publickly) had prepossessed his *Swedish* Majesty against him, as they afterwards



wards made King *Stanislaus* suspicious of him, when he came to that Place soon after *Charles* had left it. The Count seeing himself thus abandon'd by both those Kings, without either Credit or Money, thought it his best Way to go and make his Peace with King *Augustus*, as those very Countreymen his Rivals afterwards did. Pray where lies the Treason which you impute to him? M. *Jeffreys* and I might with much more Justice bring our Complaints against him. M. *Jeffreys* lent him 1000 Gold Ducats, and I 100; he gave us Bills of Exchange for that Money on the Governor of *Ravitz*, a small Town belonging to him, but at that Time mortgaged for more than its Value; he even owed some Money to the Governor, our Bills therefore were protested. We have often writ to him upon this Head, and have made use of the Solicitation of our Friends, both whilst he was in *Poland*, and afterwards in *Russia*, where he has been employ'd ever since 1725; but could never obtain the least Answer, nor, as our Friends have sent us Word, are we like to get a Penny of our Money from him. I have no Interest, as you see, to defend

defend this Count; 'tis only for the Sake of Truth, which I shall always think it my Duty to prefer to all other Considerations, without having more Regard to a Friend than to an Enemy, to the Christian than Mahometan.

It appeared very clearly to any impartial Person, that the chief Reason which made the King alter his Resolution of setting out, was a Passage in the Grand Signor's Letter, recommending him above all Things to pass in a friendly and peaceable Manner thro' *Poland*, since he was absolutely determined to return thro' that Kingdom; and the positive Order sent at the same Time to the *Han*, and to the Serasquier of *Bender*, to require the King's Promise of Compliance before the Troops set out to escort him; and in Case of any Insurrection in favour of King *Stanislaus*, he was not directly or indirectly to commit or countenance any Disorder that might tend towards a Breach of the Peace of *Carlowitz*, which the sublime *Port* was resolved to preserve inviolably with the Crown and Republick of *Poland*. I remember, as soon as this Order of the Grand Signor was notified to *Charles*  
by

by the Pacha and the Han, there was a Talk of these Letters pretended to be intercepted, which gave Rise to the Suspensions of his *Swedish* Majesty being design'd to be delivered up to King *Augustus*.

General *Hoord* was not one of those who shewed to the King their Breasts covered with Wounds, and endeavoured to dissuade him from fighting against the *Turks*, their Friends and Benefactors. He on the contrary encouraged him to it. 'Twas he who bluntly delivered to the old Janizaries the King's Message, viz. " That in case they " would not soon be gone, he would order " their Beards to be fired at, or burnt," you say cut: Which Message Messieurs *Grothusen* and *Mullern* had civilly and politely cloaked, saying, That his Majesty would depart, but was not yet ready.

Neither *Hoord* nor the Generals *Dal-dorff* and *Sparre*, whom you make to follow the King into his House with some Guards, &c. got in with him, but immediately surrendered themselves Prisoners, without even drawing a Sword, or firing a Pistol, except General *Hoord*, who wounded a *Janisary*, and was wounded by another,



other, but was prevented from getting in, and taken. I was pretty intimate with the General *Sparre* and *Dalderff*, and other Officers, and eat daily with them at Messieurs *Jeffreys* and *Fabricius*, who alternatively kept an open Table for the Officers that had been ransomed. They related to us all that they had seen the King do, or heard him say: They never mention'd a Word of what you put into his Mouth, We fight *pro Aris & Focis*.

You make Mr. *Grothusen* Interpreter between the King and a Janisary who begg'd Quarter, and obtained it upon the Condition you have mentioned after me. M. *Grothusen* was not present, nor even among the Number of those that got into the King's House; but was taken Prisoner one of the first. The Janisary's Case was thus: The King seeing two Janisaries crouching one upon the other in a Corner of his Chamber, ran them through at once with his long Sword, and killed them. He was going to do the same to the third, who lay skulking under the Bed, but the Fellow struck with Fear, embraced his Majesty's Boots, and cried *Aman* (*Pardon*.) 'Twas one of the

the Domesticks fighting by the King, who explained the Words of Condition on which his Majesty granted him Quarter.

Young *Frederick* was one of them, and fought so bravely that the King made him Captain, and promised him a Regiment. He never was at *Pultawa*, where you extol his Bravery; but M. *Fabricius*, who came to *Bender* in 1710, brought him thither from *Germany*, where he had been his Running-Footman. He presented him to M. *Grotbussen*, who made him his *Valet de Chambre*, and took him into his Favour. He was not taken Prisoner, but much worse; for some of the Servants whom I ransomed from the *Turks*, told me they verily believed he was burnt in the King's House, for they saw a Part of the Roof and Cieling sink in Flames, just where he was firing at the *Turks* thro' a Window.

He was one of those whom the King particularly recommended me to enquire after and ransom, as also the old Chamberlain *Cliffendorff*; but I could never hear any Thing more of either of them. 'Twas thought the latter was also burnt, being then

then on the same Side of the House where the Roof fell.

*Walberg* and *Rosen* were two of the few *Drabans*, whom the King had with him when he came to *Bender*, not barely Centinels, as you make them. I have mentioned in my second Volume, the first Establishment of those *Drabans* by *Charles XI.* That Prince formed a small Squadron of two hundred select Gentlemen of undaunted Courage, whom he so called, over whom He would be Captain, creating a Colonel as a Captain-Lieutenant, and a Colonel-Lieutenant as a Lieutenant under him. *Charles XII.* out-doing his Father, took for his Captain Lieutenant a Major General, and a Colonel for the Major General's Lieutenant. *M. Grothusen* was such at his coming to *Bender*. The King has often attack'd and put to Flight with a hundred and fifty of them, two or three thousand *Muscovites*.

What you make the King answer to *Walberg* may appear finer, but 'tis less true than what I have related from the best Authority. The King sallying out from his House at the Head of his small Troop immediately

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mediately fell, being pulled down by one of his own Men, but could not know whom, which prevented his further fighting. His Majesty told M. *Fabricius* so the next Morning. So far from Truth is it that he drove back the *Turks* to the Distance of fifty Paces, as you say, or that the *Janissaries* falling on him, disarm'd him; for he threw away his Sword and Pistol, that he might not be disarmed. You say, that the next Day his Majesty was carried in a Chariot towards *Adrianople*; I have said 'twas not till the fourth or fifth Day afterwards; and that is the Truth.

'Twas not before that Action, as you are pleased to tell us, that his Majesty received King *Stanislaus's* Letter, desiring his Consent for accepting of the fair Conditions offer'd him for abdicating; to which he answered, *If Stanislaus wont be King, I'll make another.* 'Twas on his Way towards *Adrianople*, when that Prince being made Prisoner at *Yassi*, found Means to have that Letter conveyed into his Hands by one of the *Poles*, who, as they were not concern'd in the Action of *Varnitza*, were at Liberty at *Bender*, and enjoy'd the Protection

tection of the Pacha and the Han. He receiv'd it at his Chariot Door.

The King was at first conducted to *Demotica*, a little Town six Leagues beyond *Adrianople*, as I said, but soon after brought to *Demirtash*, a Palace about two Miles from *Adrianople*, built by *Cara Mustapha*, the Vizier who is famous for laying Siege to *Vienna*. In that Palace he remain'd ten or eleven Months, lying most Part of the Time on a *Sopha*. 'Twas there that *M. Dubens*, Marshal of the Court, who never was Colonel but in your Book, dressed his Victuals, and not Chancellor *Mullern*, as you inform us. These two and *M. Grothusen* had the Honour to sit at Table with his Majesty.

'Twas not *Sultan Galga*, as they call the Han's eldest Son, but *Carplan Gherai*, his Brother, who was made Han in his Room. I have mention'd this *Carplan* in the Article of *Circassia*.

The only Reasons alledged by all the *Turks* and *Tartars*, for the Deposition of the Han *Delvet Gherai*, and of the *Serafquier* of *Bender*, *Ismael Pacha*, were, that they had delivered to the King the twelve

hundred Purfes before he was on Horfeback in order to march, or to ufe the *Turkifh* Word *Kalkty*, mounted, and this againft the exprefs Orders of the Grand Signor. The King was fufpected of having fent that Money into *Poland* to encourage the Infurrection which the *Port* was very apprehenfive of.

Nothing is more eafy than to prefent Petitions to the Grand Signor; as I have obferved elfewhere the Manner of doing it. I never heard any one was prohibited from prefenting them; and if any Vizier fhould prefume to forbid it, he would infallibly lofe his Head for it. So that M. *Villelongue*, or *Villa Longa*, as he call'd himfelf in *Turkey*, as defcending from a *Spanifh* Family, had no Occafion to difguife himfelf, to dance or to act the Madman, &c. I remember that M. *Bruë* hearing of this, and of his pretended Interview with the Sultan laughed at it. M. *de Fierville* was much in the Right to tell you that the Petitions and Complaints of the *Swedes* had no Share in the Changes that then happened. Nothing is more common than fuch

Changes,



Changes, and nothing less known than the true Reasons of them.

I found the King sick of a Feaver, when I waited upon him at *Demirtash* to receive his Letters to Baron *Goerts* then at *Berlin*, the Governor of *Holstein*, Count *Welling* at *Hamburgh*, and Count *Gyllembourg* the *Swedish* Minister in *London*, &c. as I have related in the Account of my Journey.

I found on my Return, the King in a perfect State of Health at *Demotica*, where he was on Horseback every Day, as before he used to be at *Bender*. I met there likewise the Generals *Rank* and *Lieven*. General *Rank* was come to ask the King's Consent for the Marriage of the Princess *Ulrica Eleonora* his Sister, now Queen of *Sweden*, with the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, which was granted him. General *Lieven* had in Charge some Letters of that Princess, and of the Senate, with humble Remonstrances upon the unhappy Situation of the *Swedish* Affairs. This Gentleman, well known for his military Bravery and undaunted Resolution, accompanied with the strictest Honour and Inte-

grity, on his Arrival, pressed the King in the Name of the Princess, the Senate and the whole Kingdom, to leave *Turkey* and return to his own Dominions. After he had in the plainest and most pathetick Manner represented the miserable Condition *Sweden* was reduced to, and what further Misery they were still to expect from the increasing Power of their Enemies, and the defenceless Condition they were in, told the King that all this was wholly owing to his Majesty's Absence, and the want of that Vigour in Execution of their Counsels, which would immediately revive at his Return; and at the same Time flattered his Hopes that he might soon see himself again at the Head of a formidable Army of his own Subjects. The General however could at that Time obtain no other Answer than this, *We will return.* The next Day the General repeated his Remonstrances, and growing very warm, had the Honesty to say to him, " Sir, We have in *Sweden* only the Option of three Events. " The first is the Return of your Majesty " to our Defence, which is most passionately " nately

" nately longed for by all your People. If  
 " we can't be indulged in this, the Misery of  
 " your Kingdom is such, that our next  
 " Desire must be, to have the Princess  
 " take the Government absolutely into her  
 " Hands, which if she refuses, then we  
 " must seek for some other Prince. If  
 " neither of these can be obtained, then  
 " we must, Thirdly, throw our selves into  
 " the Arms of those of our Enemies, who  
 " shall offer us the most favourable Terms  
 " of Submission."

The King seemed greatly moved at this  
 bold Representation of the Truth, and af-  
 ter a Pause of a few Minutes, says he,  
 " *Lieven*, you are angry:" No, Sir, re-  
 plied he, " Your Majesty mistakes me;  
 " but I come not here to flatter, but to  
 " speak the Truth. Well (says the King)  
 " we will return; but, Sir, added he, I  
 " must know when." The King's Answer  
 then was, " As soon as I can get the Mo-  
 " ney necessary to carry me and my Peo-  
 " ple to *Pomerania*." General *Lieven* re-  
 plied immediately, " There's an *English*  
 " Gentlemen, Sir, in your Court, who,  
 E 4 " with



" with the Assistance of his Brother, has  
 " already advanced your Majesty consider-  
 " able Sums. He told me this Morning,  
 " that whenever your Majesty was resol-  
 " ved to leave *Turkey*, he would take  
 " Care that Money should not be wanting  
 " for that Purpose." Upon this the King  
 ordered General *Lieven*, Chancellor *Mul-*  
*lern*, and Privy Counsellor *Fief*, who were  
 present at this Conversation, immediately  
 to treat with Mr. *James Cooke* about it.  
 This Gentleman agreed with them to sup-  
 ply his Majesty with One Hundred Thou-  
 sand Dollars; and from that Moment the  
 King resolved to leave the Countrey. The  
 said Gentleman, a few Days after, furnish-  
 ed a good Part of the Money, giving Cre-  
 dit for the Remainder of it, on his Bro-  
 ther Mr. *Thomas Cooke* at *Constantinople*.  
 They had indeed already supplied his Ma-  
 jesty with great Sums of Money at *Bender*,  
 part of which had been discharged in  
*Hamburgb*. It would have been running  
 a great Risque with a Prince of less Ho-  
 nour than *Charles XII*. His Majesty or-  
 dered, that all imaginable Care should be  
 taken

taken to pay these Gentlemen, who had served him in his most urgent and critical Occasions, when no Body else would; witness the Sum of ~~Three~~ *thirty* Thousand Dollars borrowed of them for his Majesty at *Constantinople*. The King then sent Baron *Grothusen* in the Character of Embassador Extraordinary, to take his Leave of the *Port*. Thus you see, Sir, how you are mistaken, when you tell us that an *Englishman* lent the King Two Hundred Pistoles, which Mr. *Grothusen* took up for him at *Constantinople*. I know that Monsieur *Desalleres*, the *French* Embassador, perswaded at that Time some of his Merchants to lend the King Money (I cannot say exactly what Sum) and was Security for the Payment of it, but lent nothing himself. I know that the King on his leaving *Turkey*, owed Messieurs *Cooke* about Two Hundred Dollars. *thousand*

Mr. *James Cooke* was at *Adrianople* when the King was brought in Prisoner near the City. That Gentleman finding his Majesty stripped by the *Turks*, having only one Shirt besides that on his Back, and no other

ther Coat than what he had on (which the Pacha of *Bender* had caused to be made the next Day after the Action of *Warnitza*, where his own was torn and entirely spoiled) without a Knife, Fork, Spoon, Candlestick, or any other of the Conveniencies of Life, thought it would not be taken ill if he made an Offer to Marshal *Dubens* to supply his Majesty's Table with a Service of Plate, which he and his Brother Mr. *Thomas Cooke* had for their own Use: Of small Value indeed for a Sovereign Prince, but great enough for the Circumstances of private Men. Marshal *Dubens* had his Majesty's gracious Orders to receive it of them, and honoured them so far as to use it, not only during the Time of his Stay in *Turkey*, but brought it to *Stralsund*, where his Table was constantly served with it, and where a great Part of it fell into the Enemy's Hands. I saw in 1716 some Remains of it on his Table in *Norway*; where, being sensible of the Dangers to which his Majesty daily exposed his Life, and consequently the Interest of these Gentlemen, I waited upon him to get at least Security for the  
Money



Money that was owing to them, which he very generously granted. M. *James Cooke* followed the King into *Germany*, and came in 1717 into *Sweden*, where I had been ever since the latter End of *December* 1715, at which Time died the Queen Dowager the King's Grandmother, whom you make dye in the Beginning of that Year. Mr. *James Cooke* received there a full Satisfaction for all the Money due to his Brother and him; and on his leaving that Kingdom in 1720, the Queen was graciously pleased to honour him with her Command, to come and take his Leave of her. She received him in her Cloſet, returned him her Thanks in a moſt generous and obliging Manner for the Services he had done to the King her Brother in *Turkey*, and condeſcended to give him a Letter ſigned with her Royal Hand, recommending him in the ſtrongest Terms to his Maſteſty the late King of *England*, in Conſideration (as ſhe was then pleaſed to tell him) of thoſe acceptable Services done to her Brother in his moſt urgent Occaſions. This Letter from the Queen has been corroborated by the expreſs Com-  
mands

mands of the present King of *Sweden* to Baron *Sparre* his Minister in *London*, to pursue that Recommendation of her *Swedish* Majesty to the present King of *Great Britain*, in the best Manner possible, till the said Mr. *James Cooke* shall receive some distinguishing Favour from his Court. I have seen not long ago the Copy of that Letter in his Hands.

This I mention not so much in Praise of Mr. *James Cooke*, as in Honour to their present Majesties of *Sweden*, who were not content to see him paid to the full, but also condescended to solícite his Advancement in his own Countrey. Give me Leave here to add another Instance of the Honour of the *Swedish* Nation. The forementioned Mr. *James Cooke*, at his first meeting *Charles XII.* near *Adrianople*, found him attended with about sixty Officers of Distinction, all stripp'd by the *Turks*, as the King himself had been, without Clothes, Money, or Credit. He helped every one of them to Money that applied to him; and few there were, you imagine, that did not apply to him under the Necessities they then

then were, many of whom Messieurs *Jesfreys*, *Fabricius*, and I, had redeemed from the *Turks* at *Bender*, and were afterwards joined with the King: And yet I have often heard him say, that he never asked any one of those Gentlemen for his Money again; but upon his Arrival in *Germany* or *Sweden*, every Man of them brought what was due to him. Thus you see the strictest Honour was not confined to *Charles XII*, but from his Example descended to all his Subjects. However, in my Opinion, Mr. *James Cooke* fared the better for lending his Money to Officers about his Majesty, upon no other Consideration whatever than that of their Friendship; which, he says, he values himself highly upon, and that with the justest Reason: They published, with all the Signs of Gratitude imaginable, the Services he did them in their utmost Distress.

You say, *Book VIII*, "That *Charles* ordered the *English* Resident at *Stockholm* to be arrested in Revenge of Count *Gyllenburgh's* being so in *London*, but could not take the same Revenge on the *Dutch* for  
" their



“ their arresting Baron *Goerts* at the *Hague*,  
 “ because they had no Minister then in  
 “ *Sweden*.” They had one, Sir, at *Stock-*  
*holm*, called Mr. *Rumph*; who was not so  
 much as threatened with such Usage.

I thought, and do still think myself well  
 informed of the most essential Circum-  
 stances relating to the King of *Sweden*’s  
 Death. I call them essential upon your  
 own Authority, because you say the least  
 Circumstances concerning the Death of so  
 great a Man are material, and not to be  
 passed over in Silence. You take upon you  
 to assert, that all the Conversation which  
 has been related by many Writers, and e-  
 ven by my self, between that Prince and  
 the Engineer *Megret* is absolutely false: I  
 never heard any where else but in your Hi-  
 story, that any body had given an Account  
 of this Conversation but my self, who had  
 what I wrote from Persons of unquestion-  
 able Sincerity, who were in the Trenches  
 where he was killed. From them I recei-  
 ved the Plan of *Frederickshall*, of its Forts  
 and the King’s Trenches, which you may  
 see at the End of my second Volume, and

is

is reckoned very exact. I will repeat here a few Circumstances of that last Conversation for the Benefit of those who have not read that Volume : Your Relation of the Beginning of it, agrees pretty well with mine ; what you deny is, I suppose, the following Circumstance: As the Enemy fired very hot, both from the Fortress and the Forts thereabout, the King happened to stand leaning on the Parapet, with more than his Head above it. Engineer *Megret* observing him thus exposed to the Fire, told him that was not his Place, that it rained Bullets and Cartridges. The King answered, Don't fear. " I don't fear for my self  
 " ( replied *Megret* ) who am covered  
 " by the Parapet, but for your Majesty,  
 " who don't make the Use of it for which  
 " it is raised. The King, to be rid of his  
 " Remonstrances which he was going on  
 " with, said to him, *Go and look over your*  
 " *Pioneers* (or something like this) *I am*  
 " *coming down.*" Thereupon the Officers who were present, and knew better that Prince's Temper, told the Engineer, that to advise the King to retire from any Danger,

ger, was enough to spur him on to it, or make him stay the longer in it. They advised him therefore to go and endeavour to draw him from thence, under Pretence of asking his Counsel about some Work, and desiring him to come and see it. At the same Time they heard the hissing of the Regicide Ball. *Megret*, fearing what had happened, ran to the King and found him in the same Posture; which with the Obscurity of the Night, hinder'd him from perceiving he was dead. He called upon him two or three Times, and receiving no Answer, pull'd him by his Coat, and finding him motionless, he was confirm'd in his Fear, &c. cried out to Mr. *Marchetti* an *Italian*, and *Aid de Camp* to the King, who was the nearest at Hand, Pray get some Light; and a Lanthorn being brought, and the other Officers coming up, they found the King all in Blood, his Head turned almost quite backwards by the Violence of the Shot, which had fractured his Scull above the left (you say the right) Temple, beaten in his Eye on that Side, and the right out of its Socket, making a Hole  
large



large enough to turn three Fingers in. Mr. *Siquier* being just come on the Trenches from the Prince of *Hesse Cassel* encamped at *Torpum*, to whom he was *Aid de Camp*, helped them to conceal the King's Death, as you have related after me.

As to the Rumour spread about, that *Charles* was killed by some of his own Army, the Largeness of the Hole would be sufficient to dispel all Suspensions of it; and as to Mr. *Sequier* being particularly named to be the Man, this Circumstance of his coming up, as I have related upon Mr. *Marchetty's* Testimony, is a sufficient Justification of him, if his Honour, Love and Respect for his Majesty, his generous Benefactor, were not. I never heard any Thing like it laid to his Charge, but only that falling sick two or three Years after of a Distemper which troubled his Brain, he said in his Delirium, that he was the Man that killed the King; but no body of common Sense suspected there was any Truth in it.

You'll give me Leave, Sir, to depend on my Informations, till you have convinced

ced me by a better Authority than your absolute Negative, that I have been wrong informed; if you do this, I shall thank you for it, and acknowledge publicly my Error, the first Opportunity.

You have, Sir, showed your Heroe truly such at the Head of an Army, brave in attacking his Enemies, and in defending himself when attacked by them; let me shew him resenting an Affront, as a private Gentleman. That Prince having sent his Army to *Norway* in his first Campaign, determined with himself to go thither *Incognito*, under the Name of Major *Carlo*, as I have said in my 2<sup>d</sup> Vol. that without communicating his Resolution to any Body, he set out one Morning on Horseback from *Ysted*, taking along with him only two Officers and two Soldiers; all of them without Servants, without any other Linen or Clothes, besides what they had on their Backs. The Attendants thought the King was only going to take a Ride out for a few Hours, as he used to do. He led them towards *Christineham*, and being within a few Miles of the Town, he took a Countreyman's Sledge, and ordered one of the Officers, who

who was his *Aid de Camp*, and a Soldier, to take another for themselves, and sent back half of his Company with the Horses to *Usted*. They took fresh Horses in that Town at the Post-House, and went to lay at *Carlestadt*, where he dismissed the Soldier, and so went on. Travelling in a Sledge was at that Time very commodious on account of the Snow lying on the Ground, so that in three Days they ran about fifty *Swedish* Miles, which are about 300 *English* Miles. The King happened one Day to have a better Horse to his Sledge than his *Aid de Camp*, by which Means he was got above half an Hour before him; when coming up to a Gate which crossed the Road, he saw an Officer without his Sword, lolling upon it. He bad him in an imperious Tone open it. The Officer not used to such a lofty Command, especially from a Person unknown, and no better clothed than himself, bid him get down and open it himself. The King repeated his Command a second Time, and very possibly in threatening Terms: The Officer told him, that he would not dare to treat a Man of Courage, as he was, in such a Manner,



did he not see him without his Sword; but if he dared to tarry a little while, he would step to his Quarters hard by and fetch it, and then they should presently determine who was the best Man, and who should open the Gate. The King bid him go, and and promised to wait there for his Return. The Officer went, and as he was returning, met a Woman who knew the King; she asked him, if he had not seen him; Where, said he? At such a Gate, replied she. You may well imagine the Concern the Officer was under, when he was sensible he had pick'd a Quarrel, and was like to have had a Duel with his Prince. He therefore immediately retired to his Quarters. The King had alighted to wait for him, and was walking about when the *Aid de Camp* came up to him, who fearing he had met with some Accident, desired very earnestly to be satisfied; No, said the King, *but I expect a Man who has quarrelled with me, and is gone to his Quarters for his Sword, and you are come a propos to be my Second.* The Officer not coming, they went on for a little while together, and the *Aid de Camp* asked him seriously, what he had deter-

deter-

determined to do; [and whether his Majesty, considering his own severe Laws against Duelling, would himself have broke thro' them? He could never obtain any other Answer than this, *I was sure he would not come.* I leave it, Sir, to your Determination, whether *Charles* would have fought him or not; for my Part I believe he would.

I beg Leave to relate another Sort of Adventure between the King and an old Dragoon, which I was present at in *Lund*, when he was determined for his second Campaign into *Norway*, the last of his Life. This Prince had the happiest Memory of any Person I ever knew, and never forgot a Face he had once seen. A Regiment passing one Day before him, he remember'd the Countenance of a Dragoon in it, and calling him out of his Rank, asked him whether he had not been with him in *Poland*? If he had not upon such and such an Occasion behaved in such a particular Manner? all which was greatly to the Honour of the Soldier. He answered his Majesty *Yes*, to all his Questions; and having now an Opportunity of talking to his Prince, he told him, *That as he was grown old, and had been*

very much wounded in his Service, he hoped his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give him his Dismission. The King told him, that he was sorry he should ask any Thing that he could not conveniently grant him; that he never was in greater Want of brave Men than now, when he was determined on marching again to Norway. The Soldier however insisting on his Request, the King at last told him, if he could mount his Horse with as brave Men as he himself was, he would order him his Discharge. The Soldier immediately changing his Countenance from what it then was, of humble and supplicative, to that of Indignation and Contempt, answered him in Swedish these Words, *The Devil take me if I know the Man*; put his Hat on his Head, clapp'd Spurs to his Horse, and without giving or expecting farther Answer, rode into his Rank. He did not afterwards ask for a Dismission, but the King advanced him in the same Regiment, as his Merit deserved.

I am sorry to tell you what Opinion the World has of that malicious Difference you make at the End of your History between



tween the present *English* and those of *Cromwell's Days*, and the odious Comparison of them with the Monks of *Rome*.

You are generally taxed with having soon forgot the many Obligations you personally received from that illustrious Nation, which was to you as a Place of Protection, and heaped Favours upon you during your Stay in it. You must have been reproach'd with Ingratitude had even the Character you give of it been a just one. As it is not, it argues your want of Judgment to make those proper Reflexions which belong to the Office of an Historian. Had you recollected the many Victories obtained by that brave Nation every Year, without any Interruption, *during the whole Course of a long War*, you must have a meaner Opinion of our Countreymen the *French*, than even the *English* may possibly have, to suffer themselves to be so often beat by a People not preferable to the Monks of *Rome*: Nay 'tis observed, that the Character in your third Book of the Duke of *Marlborough*, "That he never fought a Battle which he did not win, nor besieged a Place which he did not take, proves you

guilty of a most absurd Contradiction. Who were they, 'tis ask'd, that fought so gloriously under that General, were they not the *English*? What Instances have they since given to the Author of the History of *Charles XII.* that they have degenerated, and that they are even now less brave than those of *Cromwell's* Days? What does he mean? What would he have us do to appear to him as great as they were?

I won't tell you what Construction some put upon this, but give me Leave to observe, that would you do them Justice, you should rather have compared them to the *Swedes* under your Hero, of whom you say his Desire was to gain Kingdoms only to give them away? "Have we not done the like and more, say the *English*: We have maintain'd those we have conquer'd in the Possession of the Estates which we have given them, and at the same Time preserved our own." I observe you have changed in your *Errata*, which come just now to my Hands, the Word *ENGLISHMEN* into the *FANATICKS* of *Cromwell's* Days, which does not take away the Malignity of your Comparison, but rather en-  
creases

creates it, if it does not make it Nonsense.

I observe a greater Mistake in the same Errata, viz. that you bid us read *Achmet* II. instead of *Mehemet* IV. in the Beginning of your second Tome, which was right. By this I see you are not acquainted with the Order of the Succession of the *Sultans* in the *Ottoman* Family; or thought I had been mistaken in what I wrote of it. You have quite changed that Order from what it is, and always has been. You make *Achmet* II. Father to Sultan *Mustapha* deposed in 1703. and to his Brother *Achmet* III. lately deposed, to both whom he was only Uncle. 'Tis not with the *Ottomans* as with us, where the eldest Son of a Prince immediately succeeds him; but in that Family always the eldest *Sultan* succeeds, whether he be Cousin, Brother, or Son. *Mehemet* IV. had when he was deposed two Brothers, viz. *Solyman* and your *Achmet*; he had also two Sons, *Mustapha* and *Achmet*. The eldest Brother *Solyman* was then set upon the Throne, and your *Achmet* II. succeeded him, and died without Male Issue, soon after his Accession to the Throne: But *Solyman* had left a Son call'd *Ibrahim*,  
whom



whom you make in the sixth Book eldest Son to Sultan *Mustapha*, as I observed before, and who died soon after the Plot of the old Vizier *Chicurlouly* and *Osman* Aga to depose *Achmet* III. his Cousin, and set him upon the Throne. *Mustapha* the eldest Son of Sultan *Mehemet* IV. succeeded *Achmet* II. his Uncle, and to him succeeded his Brother *Achmet* III. Had their Cousin *Ibrahim* lived, it would have been his Turn to have succeeded the latter, not Sultan *Mahmoud's*, *Mustapha's* eldest Son that is now reigning.

In the same *Errata* I observe you fill up the Room of an Error by the Addition of two more, where having allowed that M. *Le Fort's* Father was not a *French* Refugee, you make him a *Druggist* of *Geneva*, and add, that the Son was at *Moscow* upon some Business in his Way of Trade when he got acquainted with the *Czar*. A *Druggist*, if I apprehend right what it is, is one that keeps a Shop and sells Drugs, Spices, &c. Now Mr. *Le Fort* the Father traded in most Sorts of Commodities, and sold by Wholesale to Shopkeepers. And the Son was

was not, as I said before, at *Moscow* upon Business in any Way of Trade.

I might make many more Observations on your History of *Charles XII.* but these are sufficient to shew that it ought not to be read without some Caution. Give me Leave to add a few Words about the Picture I have seen of this Hero at the Beginning of your Book. Those who have seen him or any Picture reckoned like him, have observed that yours has been borrowed from the imaginary one, which is at the Beginning of the Compilation of the *Utrecht Gazetteer* in six Volumes, intitled, *The History of Charles XII.* They observe on the contrary, that the Draught I have prefixed to my second Volume is so like the Original, that they have desired me to have it reduced from the *Folio* into an *Octavo*, and prefix'd these Remarks. I am indebted for it to Baron *Wranghel*, sometime Secretary to the King of *Sweden* at the *British* Court. He could at a Distance himself take the Likeness of a Face, as well as any Painter. The King could never be prevailed upon to sit for his Picture. I remember when I was at *Lund*, *M. Crafts* (if I spell his Name

Name right) Painter to the Royal Family came thither from the Princess his Sister, who was desirous of having his Picture, in order to draw it. His Majesty instead of granting the Request, bade him draw some of his Horses. *Crafts*, tho' not used to this Sort of Work, did however his best. The King went now and then to see him finishing it in his Chamber. He one Morning, when he did not expect it, perceiv'd in the Painter's Hand his own Picture, which he had stolen, if I may be allowed the Expression. As soon as *Crafts* heard the King coming in, he laid it in a Corner, and took another of a Horse. While he was about this, his Majesty took a Knife, went to the Corner where he saw him put his Picture, and cut the Face in Pieces. The Painter went on as if he had not seen him: But when his Majesty was gone out of the Room, he put all the Pieces in his Trunk, with design to join them together again at his Return to *Stockholm*, which he did accordingly. The Pictures which are reckoned most like the King have been taken from this. My Lord *Carteret* has one Copy of it, and Mr. *William Finch* another,

Charles



*Charles XII.* had always his Hat under his Arm, (except when on Horseback) and this even in open Fields in the worst of Weather. When he was standing still, he held always his Sword in one Hand with the Point downwards, and lean'd upon it; and had a Custom generally of raising up his Hair with his Fingers, as in the Picture prefixed to these Remarks. I said he held his Hat under his Arm in all Weathers, and I'll give you an Instance of it which I had from *M. Fabricius* and other *Swedish* Officers; several other Instances I have seen my self.

Whilst this Hero, remarkable in every Circumstance of Life, was encamped in Saxony, Count *Flemming* waited on him from King *Augustus* about some Business of Moment. It snow'd very fast when the Count came near his Tent in a Coach, having on a long powder'd Wig, and a new embroidered Coat. He alighted at the Distance of a few Paces, and made haste to walk in; but the King coming out of his Tent gave him Audience, standing, bare headed, exposed to the Severity of the Weather. When the King perceived a great  
Heap

Heap of Snow pyramidically raised on  
*Flemming's Wig*, "It continues snowing,  
 " (says he) *had not we better walk in?* I  
 " thought so, Sir, says the Count, half a  
 " quarter of an Hour ago. *Why*, replied  
 " the King, *did you not tell me so?* Because,  
 " (added the Count) I thought your Ma-  
 " jesty without any Hat or Wig, and with  
 " but little Hair, had a Mind to cool your  
 " self. *Well, Well*, said the King, *'tis e-*  
 " *nough, let us walk in.*" So they did.  
 You see, Sir, (by the Way) that you have  
 been misinformed by those who told you  
 that Count *Flemming* fled to *Prussia* for  
 fear of falling into *Charles's* Power, and  
 meeting a Treatment like that of *Patrick*  
 or of *Paikel*.  
 Tho' that Prince was very bald, he lay  
 always without a Night-Cap or any Thing  
 else about his Head. He used to say to  
 them that expressed their Wonder at it, *I*  
*have left my Night-Cap, my Gown, Wig,*  
*Shoes and Slippers at Stockholm, I won't*  
*buy new ones, nor use any till my Return*  
*thither.* This embolden'd Mr. *Fabricius*  
 to behave towards that Monarch with his  
 natural Facetiousness, with which the King  
 was



was always delighted, and to advise him  
 upon the following Occasion to deviate  
 from the constant Practice he had followed  
 ever since he left *Stockholm*. When leaving  
*Turkey* to return into his Kingdoms he  
 heard at *Russick* that the Emperor of *Ger-*  
*many* had ordered extraordinary Preparati-  
 ons to receive him thro' his Dominions;  
 and treat him according to his Royal Dig-  
 nity, he told Mr. *Fabricius* he was resol-  
 ved to pass *incognito*, do you and *Es-*  
*Motraye* ride before, and give out every  
 where to Officers and Magistrates of  
 Places where we shall pass, that I shall  
 be more obliged to them if they will take  
 no Notice of me, in case I should hap-  
 pen to be known, than for all the Ho-  
 nours designed me by his Imperial Ma-  
 jesty. Upon this M. *Fabricius* advised  
 him as an infallible Way to be unknown,  
 to buy or borrow those usual Ornaments of  
 Dress that he wanted. "And when your  
 Majesty, says he, shall happen to pass  
 thro' any Town of *Germany*, always to  
 lodge at the best Inn, to call immediate-  
 ly for Wine, to make Love to the Land-  
 lady, if she is young and handsome, or  
 to



" to some of the Maids that are more so,  
 " to call for your Night-Gown and Slips  
 " pers, and after having eat and drank  
 " well, to go to Bed and sleep till late in  
 " the Morning, &c." as I have related in  
 my second Volume.

I wish, Sir, in lay in my Power to do you  
 any Service that might be more agreeable  
 to you than this I now offer you. You  
 should find always that I am truly your's

&c.

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